依恋启动及其效应

贾成龙 孙莉 冯伯乐 秦金亮 (浙江师范大学,杭州幼儿师范学院,杭州 311231)

摘要 认知革命背景下,依恋研究出了现社会认知转向,研究兴趣正在从关注依恋个体差异转向差异背后的依恋图式,研究范式也从观察测量转向以启动为代表的精细测量实验范式。依恋启动实验范式分为安全启动和不安全启动,启动材料会激活不同依恋图式,促使个体分别采用安全依恋策略、过度激活或抑制激活策略,进而表现出不同的心理和行为模式,而这些模式又会调节启动效应,形成动态的启动反馈回路。未来研究应对依恋图式的成分、结构进一步细化,关注依恋焦虑与依恋启动的关系,并从加工时间进程视角探究依恋启动对后续认知加工过程的影响。

关键词 依恋研究范式; 依恋启动; 依恋图式; 依恋应对策略

1 引言

20世纪60年代认知科学兴起(Miller, 2003),认知科学为人类研究和理解心理和行为问题提供了新的思维框架,特别是在社会心理和人格等研究中出现了社会认知转向(Baldwin, Fehr, Keedian, & Seidel, 1993; Baldwin, Keelan, Fehr, Enns, & Koh-Rangarajoo, 1996; Mischel & Shoda, 1995)。依恋研究作为社会心理学、人格心理学和发展科学的交叉领域同样经历了该转向。在研究问题上,出现了从关注依恋个体差异向关注差异背后的认知表征的转变,即研究者关注点从不同依恋类型的成因、后果和功能转向不同依恋类型个体的信息加工过程(Mikulincer, Birnbaum, Woddies & Nachmias, 2000)。在研究方法上,出现了从测量向认知实验的转变,研究由借助情境观察和问卷测量转向使用认知实验方法与脑成像技术的结合。在理论建构上,研究者由传承了客体关系理论的传统依恋理论转向社会认知理论。依恋研究的社会认知转向极大加深和丰富了人们对依恋的理解,为依恋研究注入了新的活力。

在依恋理论建构之初,依恋研究的社会认知转向就已经在孕育中了,Bowlby(1969/1982,1973)广泛吸收了当时诸多理论的精华,如客体关系理论、发生论、控制系统论等,其中认知科学对依恋理论建构产生了很大影响,如"内部工作模式(internal working models)"概念的提出及作用机制(Cassidy, 2016)。但在 Ainsworth,Blehar,Waters 和 Wall(1978)等创造性地开发出陌生情境测验后,以依恋类型为代表的依恋个体差异问题一直是依恋研究的焦点。该研究分支是对 Bowlby(1973)强调依恋特征的个体差异思想的继承和发展,而令人惊讶的是,Bowlby 依恋理论中依恋特征的动态性和情境敏感性却未得到足够的重视。Bowlby(1973)认为人生而具有依恋系统,且该系统具有情境敏感性,情境会激活依恋系统,也会终止系统激活。依恋系统会根据个体当前情境信息,结合个体基于依恋经验形成的内部工作模式调节依恋相关心理和行为(Bowlby,1969/1982; Bretherton, 1985; Waters & Deane, 1982)。随着研究方法的变革,通过实验操作探究依恋相关信息加工过程成为可能,也为 Bowlby 的上述观点提供了证据。与依恋系统的激活和终止观点一致,通过刺激激活心理表征的启动技术得到研究者关注。

Baldwin 等(1996)最早采用引导想象启动方法探索不同依恋经验启动对约会对象选择的

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通讯作者:秦金亮, E-mail:qjlzjnu@126.com

影响。随后,研究者采用不同的启动方法就依恋启动对个体心理和行为的影响进行了大量研究。迄今,对依恋启动的研究已取得不少成果,但仍有许多问题有待解答,本文首先梳理依恋启动范式的缘起,继而论述依恋启动研究的进展及依恋启动的认知机制,最后提出未来值得关注的几个方向,以期能助益于后续相关研究开展。

2 依恋启动的研究方法

依恋启动是启动技术在依恋研究中的应用,研究者首先给被试呈现依恋相关刺激,激活依恋系统或依恋图式(attachment schema),通过考察不同依恋启动条件下个体在后续任务中的表现探究依恋对个体心理和行为的影响。启动思想在依恋研究中并非全新的,陌生情境测验即基于启动的思想。陌生情境测验通过创设分离和团聚情境激活或终止幼儿的依恋系统,进而根据依恋系统激活或终止引导的依恋行为对母婴依恋进行评估和分类(Ainsworth,Blehar,Waters, & Wall, 1978)。分离和团聚情境创设分别对应依恋启动范式中的依恋不安全启动和依恋安全启动。但当前依恋启动范式更多是基于图式理论,该理论认为个体对环境刺激的心理和行为反应是由个体基于过去经验形成的心理图式或表征驱动的(Bartlett, 1932; Piaget, 1973; Rumelhart, 1980)。个体在不同关系中形成的不同依恋表征会对环境刺激进行过滤,并引导个体的想法、感受和行为(Bowlby, 1969/1982; Collins & Read, 1994; Tayler & Crocker, 1981)。同时,情境刺激会激活依恋表征,使其暂时取代个体长期占主导地位的表征处于"工作(working)"状态,引导个体的信息加工过程和行为,使其表现出与该表征一致的心理和行为模式。

依恋启动效应并非启动程序所引发的一致性情绪导致的(贾成龙, 2018; Mikulincer, Hirschberger et al., 2001; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001)。为了探究依恋启动效应的独特性,研究者在依恋启动研究中设置与依恋启动对照的情绪启动条件,该条件除刺激材料外,其他流程均与依恋启动条件相同,且刺激材料的不同仅限于依恋相关性,材料的效价、唤醒度等其他特征均相同。Mikulincer,Gillath 等(2001)采用不同依恋启动方法进行的系列研究发现,安全依恋启动可以提高个体的共情反应,而积极情绪启动则无显著影响。

依恋启动常用刺激材料包括依恋相关词汇、图片、记忆、想象和故事等。依恋相关词汇既包括积极词汇(如温暖、拥抱、亲吻等),也包括消极词汇(如拒绝、死亡、失败等),还可以是依恋对象(母亲、伴侣、上帝等)的名字(Carr & Landau, 2012; Granqvist, Mikulincer, Gewirtz, & Shaver, 2012; Mancini & Bonanno, 2012; Mikulincer, Gillathet al., 2001; Mikulincer et al, 2002)。图片材料包括母亲和伴侣的照片,以及老师的照片(Ahnert, Milatz, Kappler, Schneiderwind, & Fischer, 2013)。除上述外部刺激外,内部刺激也可作为启动材料,如依恋相关记忆和想象等(Bryant & Hutanamon, 2018; Hudson & Fraley, 2018)。

依恋启动方法按不同标准可分为不同类型。按个体对启动刺激加工的意识水平依恋启动分为阈上启动(supraliminal priming)和阈下启动(subliminal priming)。阈上启动常用方法包括引导想象法、可视化法、回忆书写法、故事阅读法、词汇启动、图片启动以及开放问题回答法等(Birnbaum, Hirschberger, & Goldenberg, 2011; Bryant & Hutanamon, 2018; Deng et al., 2016; Hudson & Fraley, 2018; Li et al., 2016; Rosenthal et al., 2012),而阈下启动中研究者或在阈下呈现刺激(10ms~24ms)使被试不能对其进行有意识加工(Gillath et al., 2006; Marks & Vicary, 2016; Mikulincer, Hirschberger et al., 2001; Stupica, Brett, Woodhouse, & Cassidy, 2019);或设置虚假任务,不要求被试对刺激进行有意识加工。两种启动方法均能对长时记忆中依恋表征的加工进行考察(杨亚平, 2012)。阈上启动的整体启动效应较大、更敏感,但被试容易被呈现的刺激吸引,猜测实验目的;而阈下启动效应较小,但能够排除有意加工对反应的影响,并能检验依恋加工的自动化问题(Pietromonaco & Barrett, 2000)。

按刺激效价, 依恋启动可分为安全启动和不安全启动。安全启动通过向被试呈现支持性

依恋相关刺激或引导被试对支持性依恋相关信息进行加工,激活依恋安全基地相关心理表征, 这些被激活表征将引导个体后续认知过程和行为表现,产生启动效应。依恋安全基地是指当 婴儿探索世界时将依恋对象当作基地以获得安全感(Bowlby, 1990)。为了激活支持性依恋关 系表征,有研究者要求被试阅读描绘个体获得依恋对象帮助的故事,如一个人回到家后发现 自己的钥匙丢了, 他打电话向妈妈求助, 妈妈停下手头的工作, 马上回家给他送钥匙(Deng et al., 2016; Mikulincer, Gillath et al., 2001); 还有研究者要求被试回忆一件与依恋对象共同经历 的、自己感到舒适、亲密和被爱的真实经历(Bryant & Hutanamon, 2018; Hudson & Fraley, 2018)。能发挥依恋安全基地功能的个体或符号可能都可以引发安全启动效应,如研究发现 了上帝和宗教符号在信徒中的积极启动效应(Granqvist et al., 2012)。不安全启动包括依恋焦 虑启动和依恋回避启动, 研究者通过刺激材料激活了与依恋焦虑或回避相关的依恋图式, 随 后个体会采用与该图式一致的应对方式调控个体的心理和行为。研究者通常要求被试想象-段符合焦虑型依恋和回避型依恋典型特征的关系:在依恋焦虑启动条件下,要求被试想象一 段他们觉得他人不愿意与自己亲近,且常忧心自己是否被他人抛弃的关系;而在依恋回避启 动条件下,则要求被试想象一段他们感觉很难信任他人,并且他人尝试亲近自己时感到不舒 服的关系(Melen, Pepping, & O'Donovan, 2017; Wilkinson, Rowe, & Heath, 2013)。而未激活特 定依恋图式的威胁启动也是一种不安全启动。威胁启动中研究者通过呈现与依恋直接相关刺 激(如与依恋对象分离图片)或与依恋并不直接相关刺激(如"失败"一词)激活个体依恋系统, 从而产生启动效应。

3 依恋启动的效应

依恋启动范式是当前探究依恋情境对个体心理和行为作用的最常用方法之一。尽管上述 启动方法同属启动范式,但不同启动方法因激活的依恋图式不同会对个体信息加工和人际活 动产生不同的影响。研究者对依恋安全启动和不安全启动在信息加工和人际互动中的效应进 行了大量研究,并取得了不少成果。

3.1 安全启动效应

依恋安全启动通过激活安全基地图式暂时提高个体安全感(Carnelley, Bejinaru, Otway, Baldwin, & Rowe, 2018),降低焦虑和抑郁水平(Deng et al., 2016),缓冲不安全依恋经验带来的消极影响(Cassidy, Shaver, Mikulincer, & Lavy, 2009; Cassidy, Stern, Mikulincer, Martin, & Shaver, 2018; Gokce & Harma, 2018),从而使个体无论在个体层面,还是人际层面,均表现出积极的心理和行为倾向。

在个体层面,安全启动后个体信息加工更加积极、开放、灵活。首先,信息加工更加积极,如个体报告更多积极情绪(Karreman, Vingerhoets, & Bekker, 2018; Liao, Wang, Zhang, Zhou, & Liu, 2017; Troyer & Greitemeyer, 2018),更少消极想法,并表现出更高的情绪恢复能力 (Selcuk, Zayas, Guenaydin, Hazan, & Kress, 2012)。其次,信息加工更加开放,如个体对对立观点更加包容(Jarvinen & Paulus, 2017),对消极记忆的通达性(accessibility)更高(Bryant & Bali, 2018; Sutin & Gillath, 2009)。再者,信息加工更加灵活,如个体表现出更高的反应抑制能力(Li et al., 2016)及更多创造性行为(Mikulincer et al., 2011)和探索行为(Luke, Sedikides, & Carnelley, 2012; Rowe, Shepstone, Carnelley, Cavanagh, & Millings, 2016)。在人际层面,安全启动后个体在互动中表现出更高的开放性,更愿意进行个人披露(Dawson et al., 2015; Gillath, Sesko, Shaver, & Chun, 2010; Pepping, Davis, O'Donovan, & Pal, 2015),并更倾向于维持稳定关系,容忍人际压力,采用积极的人际策略(Bartz, Tchalova, & Fenerci, 2016; Gillath, Karantzas, & Selcuk, 2017; Zhang, Chan, Teng, & Zhang, 2015)。同时,个体能够克服自我中心性,关注他人的需要,更愿意支持和帮助他人(Boag & Carnelley, 2016; Cassidy et al., 2018; Mikulincer et al., 2014; Mikulincer, Shaver, Sahdra, & Bar-On, 2013; Pardess, Mikulincer, Dekel, & Shaver,

2014)。再者,安全启动不仅能够增加亲社会行为(Chugh, Kern, Zhu, & Lee, 2014),还可以减少攻击行为(Liu, Huo, Chen, & Song, 2018; Saleem et al., 2015)、偏见和歧视(Boag & Carnelley, 2012, 2016)。可见,安全启动后个体在信息加工和人际互动的各方面均表现出积极效应且十分稳健。

安全启动效应会受个体其他特征的调节,如个体特质性依恋特征、归因风格、认知状态等。个体特质性依恋特征会调节安全启动效应,如通常认为安全依恋启动会产生积极作用 (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2019),但有研究发现,相对其他个体,安全启动可能增强高焦虑个体不利的情绪反应(Mallinckrodt et al., 2013),这可能是因为高依恋焦虑个体将安全依恋相关刺激评估为威胁性的,进而对安全依恋信息加工产生了消极反应。个体归因风格 (explanatorystyle)也会调节安全启动效应,安全启动后高乐观归因风格个体对成功进行更多外部归因,而高悲观归因风格个体对成功进行更多内部归因(Deng et al., 2016)。再者,个体认知状态也会影响启动效应。研究发现安全启动只在心理损耗条件下才会对他人需要的反应性有促进效应,而在非损耗条件下则无该效应(Mikulincer, Shaver, Bar-On et al., 2014; Mikulincer, Shaver, Sahdra et al., 2013)。除个体特征外,实验任务特征也会影响安全依恋启动效应,如刺激效价。研究发现,安全启动会降低高焦虑个体对疼痛相关照片的疼痛强度评分,而提高其对非疼痛相关照片的疼痛强度评分 (Pan, Zhang, Liu, Ran, & Teng, 2017)。此外,人际活动任务中互动对象的身份也会影响启动效应,研究发现安全启动可以降低对群体外成员 (out-groups)的消极反应,而对群体内成员(in-groups)没有影响 (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001)。3. 2 不安全启动效应

不安全启动包括依恋焦虑启动、依恋回避启动和依恋威胁启动。前两种启动方法均通过刺激材料激活某一具体的依恋关系图式,图式被激活后,会提高相关信息的通达性,并影响个体接下来的心理和行为。研究发现,焦虑和回避启动会提高与该依恋特征一致词汇的识别速度以及一致状态性依恋特征评分,而对另一类无影响(Gillathet al., 2006; Melen et al., 2017)。而依恋威胁启动并未指向激活某一具体依恋图式,而是仅仅使依恋系统处于激活状态,这时,个体占主导地位的依恋图式可能会对个体接下来的心理和行为产生更大影响。

关于依恋焦虑和回避启动的研究相对较少,且研究结果不一致。依恋焦虑启动后,个体 会表现出更多不适应性行为,如表现出更严重的进食问题 (Wilkinson et al., 2013),亲密关系 互动更不平等(Grau & Doll, 2003), 并感知到更高的人际压力(Mikulincer, Gillath et al., 2001)。 但也有研究发现焦虑启动与安全启动表现出类似的效应,两者均表现出更高的疼痛阈限及疼 痛耐受性,且两者无显著差异(Rowe et al., 2012)。此外,对安全及沟通相关词汇使用以及偏 见和社会支配性的研究也发现两者差异不显著(Boag & Carnelley, 2016; Carnelley & Rowe, 2010)。研究结果不一致可能是因为依恋焦虑启动不但可以激活与亲密他人相关的消极认知 和情绪,也可以激活积极认知和情绪。该观点得到了实证研究的支持,Mukulincer,Shaver, Bar-On 和 Ein-Dor(2010)发现焦虑型个体对伴侣和人际亲密表现出矛盾的态度和动机。故而, 焦虑启动既可能表现出消极效应, 也可能表现出积极效应, 这可能取决于刺激材料激活依恋 图式的性质。依恋焦虑启动和回避启动效应比较研究的结果也不一致。有研究表明,回避启 动后个体认知和行为更加消极,与依恋焦虑启动相比,回避启动后,个体在书写任务中使用 更多不安全词汇和消极情绪词汇(Carnelley & Rowe, 2010), 更难容忍人际评判带来的压力 (Beck & Clark, 2009), 并表现出更低的同理心、更高的偏见和社会支配性(Boag & Carnelley, 2016)。但也有研究发现依恋焦虑启动和回避启动效应无差异,如两种启动条件下个体对消 极关系词汇的抑制反应(Dewitte & De Houwer, 2011),以及个体的同理心、安全感和精力充 沛感等均无显著差异(Luke et al., 2012; Mikulincer, Gillathet al., 2001)。上述不一致结果可能 是因为回避和焦虑相关依恋图式中他人表征不同造成的。通常认为回避型依恋个体的他人表 征是消极的,而焦虑型个体的他人表征是积极的,但有研究者认为,焦虑相关图式中他人表 征并非单效价的,而是同时具有积极和消极两种冲突的效价(Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007; Simpson, Rholes, & Nelligan, 1992)。因此,依恋焦虑启动和回避启动研究中的不一致结果可能是因为任务中高焦虑个体和高回避个体他人表征的差异造成的。依恋焦虑相关图式中存在积极和消极两种效价的自我和他人表征可能是解释上述三种启动研究结果不一致的关键。

焦虑和回避启动均旨在通过激活具体依恋图式,使该图式处于"工作"状态,进而引导 个体心理和行为。根据依恋理论,当个体处于恐惧、疲倦或虚弱状态时,依恋系统也会被激 活,以提高对危险信息的警惕,进而驱使个体从依恋对象处获得安全感和亲密感(Bretherton, 1985)。这种以威胁相关刺激激活依恋系统的启动称为依恋威胁启动。与理论一致,研究发 现威胁启动可以提高对依恋相关信息(如亲密词汇和依恋对象名字)的反应, 但不会影响对依 恋无关词汇的反应(Granqvist et al., 2012; Mikulincer et al., 2000; Mikulincer et al., 2002)。但也 有研究未发现威胁启动会提高依恋对象名字(被试主观报告)的通达性, 而无论母亲是否是被 试报告的依恋对象,妈妈名字的通达性均得到提高(Carr & Landau, 2012),这可能是因被试 报告依恋对象时受防御机制影响使其报告的依恋对象并非其真正的依恋对象。此外,威胁启 动还会影响个体的性爱动机和性幻想。Birnbaum 等(2011)研究发现,威胁启动会增加个体对 浪漫性爱的渴望,这反映了个体在威胁条件下对亲密的渴望。而对于性幻想,威胁启动后个 体性幻想会包含更多人际距离和敌意主题,幻想中自我和他人更加消极(Birnbaum, Simpson, Weisberg, Barnea, & Assulin-Simhon, 2012)。该结果也与理论一致, 威胁启动会威胁个体的自 我价值感知,并促使个体采用远离策略,降低对可能拒绝自己的性伴侣的依赖,以保护自己 免受痛苦。类似地,从人际互动角度,出于自我保护目的,在人际互动中个体在威胁启动后 会降低对同伴团体的认同(Gabriel et al., 2010; Rosenthal et al., 2012)。可见, 依恋威胁启动后, 个体表现出的亲密寻求和疏离两种应对方式可能受个体特质性依恋特征的影响。

个体特征会调节依恋威胁启动效应,如特质性依恋、性别等。威胁启动会加剧不安全依恋个体的不适应性心理和行为,研究发现威胁启动后不安全依恋个体与他人的互动水平降低(Gabriel et al., 2010; Rosenthal et al., 2012)。在注意研究中也得到类似的结果,威胁启动会消除回避个体的注意优势(Gillath, Giesbrecht, & Shaver, 2009)。威胁启动激活依恋系统后,个体将采用其偏好的依恋应对策略主导随后的信息加工和人际互动过程,不安全个体更倾向于使用消极应对策略,因此,威胁启动会加剧不安全依恋个体的消极心理和行为表现。再者,威胁启动在不同临床样本中效应不同,威胁启动会降低无症状丧亲组(asymptomatic griever)对去世配偶名字的通达性,而对复杂性哀伤者(complicated griever)无影响(Mancini & Bonanno, 2012)。此外,性别也会影响威胁启动效应,研究发现死亡启动会增强男性对爱国主义概念的通达性,而增强女性对浪漫相关概念的通达性(Arndt, Greenberg, & Cook, 2002)。

总之,依恋启动类型会激活不同的依恋图式或表征,进而对个体信息加工和人际互动产生不同影响。安全启动会激活安全基地表征,暂时提高个体安全感,缓冲不安全依恋带来的消极影响,表现出更具建设性的心理和行为反应。焦虑和回避启动会激活具体依恋图式,而具体依恋图式又包含不同的具体表征,特别是不同效价的自我和他人表征,这些激活图式将会主导随后的信息加工和人际互动过程。而威胁启动并非激活特定表征,而是激活依恋系统,使个体对依恋信息的反应性增强,其后个体长期偏好的依恋应对策略会主导个体随后的心理和行为表现。因此,即使依恋启动类型和方法相同,结果也可能因激活图式不同而不同。此外,依恋启动效应会受个体完成任务时个体特征和任务特征影响。

4 依恋启动的机制

依恋启动效应产生的前提是情境刺激可以直接或间接激活依恋相关图式。并非所有依恋相关刺激均会产生依恋启动效应,只有情境刺激能够激活依恋相关图式时才会产生启动效应 (Mikulincer, Hirschberger et al., 2001)。依恋图式被激活后,个体将采用与之对应的依恋应对

策略,进而表现出不同的心理和行为模式(Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003)(见表 1)。

快速逃离图式

无具体图式

4.1 依恋启动激活图式与应对策略

回避启动

威胁启动

不安全启动

根据 Mikulincer 与 Shaver(2003, 2016)提出的依恋系统激活和动力模型,依恋信息加工和行为的差异更多反映的是依恋系统激活后个体采用的依恋策略的差异(Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003)。依恋策略对应的认知结构是依恋图式,依恋图式包括围绕着关系原型组织的陈述性和程序性知识(Mikulincer & Shaver, 2019; Shaver & Mikulincer, 2014),这些图式一旦

 依恋启动类型		激活图式		依恋策略
安全启动		安全基地图式		安全依恋策略
	焦虑启动	警卫图式	结果成功的警卫图式	安全依恋策略
			结果失败的警卫图式	过度激活策略

抑制激活策略

个体主导策略

表1依恋启动类型、激活图式及应对策略对比表

被激活就会处于工作状态,引导个体对依恋情境的反应。不同类型依恋启动所激活的依恋图 式是由个体对启动材料性质的评估决定的,如研究发现,安全启动更可能增加高焦虑个体不 适应的情绪反应(Mallinckrodt et al., 2013),这可能是因为高依恋焦虑个体将安全依恋相关刺 激评估是威胁性的, 进而以消极方式对安全依恋信息进行加工。Shaver 和 Mikulincer(2014) 将依恋图式分为三类: 安全基地图式(secure-base script)、警卫图式(sentinel script)和快速逃离 图式(rapid fight-flight script),这三类图式分别是依恋安全型个体、焦虑型个体和回避型个体 的主导图式。尽管主导图式不同,个体可能同时拥有多种依恋图式。每种依恋图式包含不同 的"如果-那么"命题,例如,安全基地图式包含如下命题:"如果我遇到困难和/或感到痛 苦,那么我可以向重要他人寻求帮助;如果我向他求助,那么他会提供帮助和支持;如果我 向他寻求帮助,那么这会使我放松和舒适。";警卫图式包含如下命题:"如果有依恋相关危 险信号,那么这一定十分危险;如果遇到危险,那么我应该马上向重要他人求助;如果我向 重要他人求助,那么他一定会帮助我。";快速逃离图式包括如下图式:"如果有依恋相关危 险信号,那么这一定不那么危险:如果遇到危险,那么我可以自己解决:如果向重要他人求 助,那么他不会帮助我"。不同依恋图式被激活后个体会使用不同的依恋策略,安全基地图 式激活后个体更倾向于使用安全依恋策略;警卫图式激活后个体对危险感知更敏感,会对他 人进行警告,个体更倾向于使用过度激活策略(hyperactivating strategy); 快速逃离图式激活 后个体会逃离危险情境,同时不会帮助他人或与他人合作,个体倾向于抑制激活策略 (deactivatingstrategy)(Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, & Shaver, 2011).

一般情况下,依恋安全策略是个体在进行依恋信息加工和人际互动时的初级策略(Shaver & Mikulincer, 2002),但当初级策略失效时,个体不得不采用次级策略,次级策略主要包括过度激活策略和抑制激活策略(Main, 1990)。过度激活策略是对依恋需要受挫的"反抗",依恋需要受挫后,长期对依恋信息保持高度警觉,并伴随强烈的忧虑和异常强烈且持续的努力,强迫性地获得依恋对象的爱和支持。与之相反,抑制激活策略是对不可获得依恋对象的"脱离"反应,当亲密寻求失败时,个体倾向于抑制依恋系统激活,压制亲密寻求,否认依恋需要,并追求过度自我依赖。值得注意的是,当个体倾向于使用警卫图式-过度激活策略时,可能存在两种结果:个体付出努力之后得到依恋对象的安抚和亲密或个体付出努力后未得到依恋对象的安抚和支持(Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007; Simpson et al., 1992)。从个体发展角度看,高焦虑个体重复经历上述不同经验会形成两种不同类型的警卫图式:结果成功的警卫图式和结果失败的警卫图式。当依恋启动刺激激活警卫图式后个体可能表现出不同的行为模式,当结果成功的警卫图式被激活后,个体将倾向于使用安全依恋策略,如研究表明

焦虑启动效应与安全启动效应无显著差异(Boag & Carnelley, 2016; Carnelley & Rowe, 2010); 而当结果失败的警卫图式被激活后个体更倾向于使用过度激活策略,这时个体将会表现出不适应性行为(Grau & Doll, 2003; Wilkinson et al., 2013)。

是否同一类型依恋启动方法均会一致地激活某一具体依恋图式,进而促使个体采用相对 应的应对策略?通常情况下,依恋安全启动、依恋焦虑启动和依恋回避启动会相对一致地激 活某一具体依恋图式,而威胁启动并非如此。安全启动会激活安全基地图式,暂时提高个体 的安全感,缓冲消极依恋的消极影响,进而表现出积极的信息加工、情绪管理和人际互动模 式(Bryant & Bali, 2018; Carnelley et al., 2018; Troyer & Greitemeyer, 2018)。依恋焦虑启动可能 激活结果成功和结果失败两种警卫图式,在这种情况下个体将分别使用安全依恋策略和过度 激活策略(Boag & Carnelley, 2016; Carnelley & Rowe, 2010; Grau & Doll, 2003; Wilkinson et al., 2013)。回避启动会激活快速逃离图式,采用抑制激活策略,减少对依恋相关信息的注意和 加工,以避免可能造成的痛苦(Beck & Clark, 2009; Boag & Carnelley, 2016)。而威胁启动并未 激活具体依恋图式而是使依恋系统处于激活状态,个体对依恋相关信息更加敏感(Granqvist et al., 2012; Mikulincer et al., 2000; Mikulincer et al., 2002)。随后, 个体长期形成的主导依恋 图式将被激活,并影响接下来的信息加工和人际互动。安全型个体会激活安全基地图式,使 用安全策略,如威胁启动会增加其对亲密的渴望(Birnbaum et al., 2011);而回避型个体则激 活快速逃离图式,采用抑制激活策略,研究发现威胁启动会增加回避型个体在幻想和人际中 的退缩行为(Birnbaum et al., 2012; Gabriel et al., 2010; Rosenthal et al., 2012)。在依恋威胁启动 条件下,个体的特质性依恋特征将发挥更大作用。

4.2 依恋启动与情绪启动

依恋启动范式激活的依恋图式或表征并非是"冷"知识,相反,它是一组"热"结构,这与依恋理论强调情感和动机的观点一致。依恋启动范式通过改变个体积极/消极自我和他人表征的可得性,暂时改变个体依恋安全水平,进而影响个体在后续社会信息加工和人际互动中的表现。以安全依恋启动为例,研究者比较了依恋启动与依恋无关积极情绪启动的效应,发现依恋启动范式确实可以唤起积极情绪(Mikulincer, Hirschberger et al., 2001),且依恋安全启动通常比积极情绪启动更可靠、有效地提高个体积极心境水平(Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007)。尽管依恋启动效应与情绪启动效应具有相似之处,但依恋启动效应并非启动材料诱发的一致性情绪造成的(Mikulincer, Gillath et al., 2001),依恋启动有其区别于情绪启动的独特之处。依恋启动范式激活的依恋表征由行为成分、认知成分和情感成分三部分构成(Mikulincer, Hirschberger et al., 2001)。行为成分由在压力条件下激活个体寻求亲密及在压力减缓条件下继续非依恋行为的程序性规则构成;认知成分由对重要他人意图的预期构成;而情感成分则由预期的积极或消极情感构成。依恋启动效应的产生不仅是因为启动范式激活了依恋图式或表征中的积极或消极情绪,其同时也激活了依恋图式中的认知和行为成分。

4.3 依恋启动效应的调节因素

同时,依恋系统的运作并非独立的,其会受个体特征的影响,如个体特质性依恋特征、归因方式和个体认知状态等。个体特质性依恋特征会调节启动效应,研究发现威胁启动会降低不安全依恋个体的人际互动,但对安全依恋个体无影响(Gabriel et al., 2010; Rosenthal et al., 2012)。对个体归因方式研究发现,安全启动后高乐观归因风格个体对成功进行更多外部归因,而高悲观归因风格个体对成功事件进行更多内部归因(Deng et al., 2016)。此外,个体认知状态也会调节启动效应,研究发现安全启动只在心理损耗条件下才会对他人需要的反应有促进效应,在非损耗条件下则无该效应(Mikulincer, Shaver, Bar-On et al., 2014; Mikulincer, Shaver, Sahdra et al., 2013)。除个体特征外,个体进行的任务特征也会影响个体的反应,如刺激效价和互动对象身份等。研究发现安全启动会降低高焦虑个体对疼痛相关照片的疼痛强度评分,而提高其对非疼痛照片的疼痛强度评分 (Pan et al., 2017)。人际互动对象的身份也会

影响启动效应,安全启动可以降低对团体外成员的消极反应,而对群体内成员没有影响 (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001)。因此,在对依恋启动研究结果进行解释时,也应将这些因素纳入考虑。

依恋启动效应是由依恋情境刺激激活不同依恋图式,进而激活相应依恋策略造成的。依恋安全启动、焦虑启动和回避启动可能直接激活某一具体依恋图式,而威胁启动则可能并不直接激活具体依恋图式,而仅使依恋系统处于激活状态,随后个体占主导地位的依恋图式和策略将引导后续心理和行为过程。此外,依恋启动效应还受个体特质性依恋特征、认知风格等因素等影响。

5 问题与展望

依恋启动研究是对传统依恋研究的继承和发展。从研究范式上看,依恋启动既继承了陌生情境测验的核心思想,又吸收了认知实验范式的优点;从研究内容上看,从更重视实际依恋关系转向依恋关系所塑造的依恋表征。依恋启动使依恋相关变量可操作,极大丰富了依恋研究,并拓展了人们对依恋问题的理解。尽管关于依恋启动的研究已经取得了不少成果,但该领域研究结果仍存在分歧,未来研究有以下几个值得注意的方向。

首先,关注具体依恋图式内容和结构在启动效应中的作用。当前依恋启动研究中,仅将依恋图式粗略分为安全基地图式、警卫图式和快速逃离图式三类(Mikulincer & Shaver, 2016),但同一类图式可能包含不同内容,其结构也可能不同,这可能是造成同种启动方法产生不同启动效应的原因之一。例如,作为焦虑型依恋个体主导图式的警卫图式可能包括两个不同的子类型:结果成功的警卫图式和结果失败的警卫图式,两类图式激活后个体会表现出不同的心理和行为模式(Boag & Carnelley, 2016; Wilkinson et al., 2013)。将来研究可使用更加精细的材料以确定激活警卫图式的效应。另外,启动刺激是否包含依恋图式中具体表征的关系也会影响启动效应。有研究者使用依恋对象的名字和照片作为启动材料发现了启动效应(Ahnert et al., 2013; Mikulincer, Shaver, Bar-On et al., 2014; Mikulincer, Shaver, & Rom, 2011),但也有研究单独呈现母亲或婴儿图片并未发现启动效应,而呈现妈妈照顾和安慰、与婴儿有身体接触的图片时则会出现启动效应(Mikulincer et al., 2001)。

其次,个体特质性依恋特征对启动效应的影响仍需进一步研究。尽管研究者已经达成共识,个体在依恋相关认知和情感加工中的表现是个体依恋特质性特征与情景线索综合作用的结果(Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003),但个体特质性依恋,特别是依恋焦虑与依恋启动的交互作用模式尚未明晰,未来应进一步关注。如研究发现,安全启动效应只出现在低焦虑个体中(Mikulincer et al., 2011),但也有研究发现安全启动只出现在高焦虑个体中(Bryant & Foord, 2016; Gokce & Harma, 2018),还有研究发现依恋启动效应独立于个体依恋焦虑特征(Bartz et al., 2016; Cassidy et al., 2018)。这可能与焦虑型个体既拥有积极依恋表征也拥有消极依恋表征有关,未来研究应进一步澄清个体依恋焦虑和依恋启动效应之间的关系。

再者,依恋刺激呈现后个体信息加工的过程还不清晰。Mikulincer 和 Shaver (2003)提出的依恋系统激活和动力模型认为个体对依恋相关情境刺激的加工要先后经过三个认知评估过程以决定个体采用的应对策略。但依恋阈下启动的研究表明个体在意识不到刺激的情况下,依恋系统仍被自动激活,该结果与传统理论一致(Bowlby, 1969/1982; Collins & Reed, 1994)。个体评估或意识状态在依恋启动中的作用值得进一步关注。此外,当前研究多关注依恋启动的效应及依恋启动与个体依恋取向间的交互作用,但依恋启动发挥作用的认知机制仍不清晰。将来研究可从信息加工时间进程的视角,考察依恋启动对认知加工过程中不同阶段的影响,如注意。未来研究可采用时间分辨率更高的实验范式并结合 ERP 技术探究依恋启动效应影响后续认知加工过程的认知和神经机制。

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The Effects and Mechanism of Attachment Priming

JIA Chenglong; SUN Li; FENG Bole; QIN Jinliang (Hangzhou College of Early Childhood Teacher's Education, Zhejiang Normal University, Hangzhou 311231, China) Abstract: In the context of cognitive science, attachment research has revealed a social cognition shift. Researchers' interest is shifting from focusing on individual differences in attachment to the attachment schemas behind the differences. The research paradigm has also shifted from observational measure to the fine cognitive experimental paradigm represented by priming. The attachment priming paradigm is divided into secure priming and unsecure priming. Priming materials will activate different attachment schemas, prompting individuals to adopt secure attachment strategy, hyperactivating strategy or deactivating strategy, respectively, and thus show different mental and behavioral patterns. Meanwhile, these patterns can moderate the priming effects. And all these processes form a dynamic priming feedback loop. Future research should refine the components and structure of attachment schemas, focus on the relationship between attachment anxiety and attachment priming, and explore the impact of attachment priming on subsequent cognitive processing from the perspective of processing time.

Key words: attachment research paradigm; attachment priming; attachment script; attachment coping strategies